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State had said to him. It ended when he died. If you accept the lateral between his removal from New Hampshire to Massachusetts, it was a public admission of the fact that the country, at that time, by what enlarged patriotism, embracing the whole country, that life was guided, I shall contend hereafter. Let me now fix your attention rather on the magnitude and variety and actual upon the service. Consider that from the day he sat upon the Committee of Foreign Relations, and from that time and more and more, the longer he lived and thither he went, the more he was a man of talents and devotion to public duty placed and kept him in a position associated or sole command; command in the political connection to which he belonged; command in responsibility in power; and appreciate the responsibilities which that implies, what care, what prudence, what wisdom, what high ground, exacting for the conduct in party, as the whole ground, exacting for the conduct in party, as the whole ground, exacting for civil division equal to the conduct of an empire. Consider the work he did in that life of forty years; the range of subjects investigated and discussed, composing the whole duty and practice of our organic and administrative duties, foreign and domestic; the vast body of instructive thought and practical wisdom which he gave to the country; how much he achieved in power and in position as at the baro his true interpretation, as well as to impress the transcendent value of the Constitution itself, as much altogether as any jurist or statesman since its adoption; how much to establish in the general mind the great principle of the Government of the United States, that within limits it is supreme by the people of the States, not incompatible with governing communities; that within limits it is supreme by the people of the States, not incompatible with governing communities; is within limits or not, in any given exertion of itself, is to be determined by the Supreme Court of the United States—the ultimate arbiter—in the last resort, from which there is appeal but to revolution; how much he has achieved in the great questions which grew out of the proposed move to Panama, and the later day, out of the removal of the deposits, to place the Government as partment of a Government on its true basis and under its true limitations; to secure to that department all the

I am herewith to speak separately of the political morality which guided Mr. Webster, but I would say a word now on two portions of his public life, one of which has been the subject of acerbicatory, the other of disparaging criticism by the writers of the *Review*.

The first comprises his course in regard to protective policy. He opposed a tariff of protection, it is said, in 1816, and 1820, and 1824; and he opposed, in 1828, a sudden and fatal repeal of such a tariff, and thereupon he was called "the tariff man." This proved him a man of no great comprehensive ideas of the subject, and he took the fleeting interests and transient opinions of the hour for his form of conduct; "who had no sorer and serious convictions of his own." I have seen it more decorously written, "that his opinions on this subject were not the result of any preconceived theory, but by a consideration of immediate questions at hand."

And now to him who in the solitude of his library declares this act, first, because there was no danger of a war with England, I answer that, according to the overwhelming weight of that kind of evidence by which that kind of question must be tried—that is, by the judgment of the great body of well-informed public men at that moment in Congress, in the Government, in diplomatic situations—that the Government of the United States had no such urgent that unless soon adjusted by negotiation there was real danger of war. Against such evidence, what is the value of the speculation of a private person, ten years afterwards, in the shade of his general studies, whatever his sagacity? The temper of the border population, the influence of the agitators, the sympathy of the sympathizers on our side of the line; the entrance on our territory of a British armed force in 1837; cutting the Caroline out of her harbor and sending her down the Falls; the arrest of McLeod in 1841, a British subject, composing part of the force, by the soldiers of New York; the arrest of the three men, which a person high in office in England declared, in a letter which was shown to me, would raise a cry for war from "Whig, Radical, and Tory" which no Ministry could resist; growing irritation caused by the search of our vessels under color of suppression of the slave trade; the attitude of the Government, about the boundary line, so

ativity, and from what Olympian seat, you could not certainly yet tell. To do that you must, if you saw him at all, see him many times: compare him with himself and with others; follow his dazzling career from his earliest beginnings to his latest; compare his work with those labels; study his discourses, study them by the choice of those of other great men of this country and time and of other countries and times, conspicuous in the same fields of mental achievement; look through the crystal water of the style down to the golden sands of the thought; analyze and contrast intellectual power somewhat as a chemist analyzes a mineral; and, finally, to be able to hold fast by students of mind needed in order to great eminence in the higher mathematics, or metaphysics, or reason of the law; what capacity to analyze through and through to the primordial elements of the truth of that science; yet what wisdom and sobriety, in order to control the wantonness and shun the absurdities of a mere scholastic logic, by systematic ideas, and combining them together by one, by another, thus producing, not a collection

Beyond these studies and exercises of taste he had read seriously and judiciously. If any public man, or any man, had more thoroughly mastered British constitutional and general history, or the history of British legislation, and the character of our countrymen, our customs and hindrances to British liberty in more prompt, accurate, and complete detail, or had in his memory, at any given moment, a more ample political biography or political literature, I do not now know him. His library of English history and of his history was always rich, select, and catholic, and I well recollect hearing him, in 1810, while attending a commencement of law, deliver on an evening party, sketch, with great emphasis and interest, the history of the life of George Buchanan, the historian of Scotland, his latinity and eloquence almost equal to Livy's, his love of liberty in his genius greater, and his title to credit not much worse. American history and American political literature he had by heart. The long series of influences that remained us for representative and free government; that other series of influences which moulded us into a united